

# The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 9  
No. 4



FROM PROPAGANDA TO  
PRACTICAL POLITICS

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ADVANTAGES IN  
THE COMING CAMPAIGN

"THE WOMEN BOSSES"

THE EFFECT OF SUFFRAGE  
PROPHECY ON THE PRESIDENT

WHY FEW WOMEN WILL VOTE  
WITH THE "WOMAN'S PARTY"

ECONOMIC TENDENCIES AND  
FEMINISM

NATURE'S WARNING TO  
SUFFRAGISTS

THE PROGRESS OF THE  
ANTI-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

AUGUST  
1916



Subscription, \$1.00 a Year

Single Copies, 10 cents



Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 1, 1913, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.; Under the Act of March 3, 1879

# National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

37 West 39th Street, New York City

## OFFICERS

President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, New York.  
Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Louis A. Frothingham, Boston, Mass.;  
Mrs. John B. Heron, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Miss Anne Mac-  
Ilvaine, Trenton, N. J.; Mrs. Edward Porter Peck,  
Omaha, Neb.; Mrs. Sidney W. Thaxter, Portland, Me.  
Secretary, Mrs. William B. Glover, Fairfield, Conn.  
Treasurer, Miss Caroline W. Stewart, Glen Ridge, N. J.  
General Secretary, Miss Minnie Bronson.

Mrs. John Balch, Boston, Mass.  
Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, New York.  
Mrs. Horace Brock, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale, R. I.  
Mrs. Daniel A. Markham, Hartford, Conn.  
Mrs. C. H. Davis, Washington, D. C.  
Mrs. H. E. Talbot, Dayton, O.  
Mrs. E. Yarde Breese, Trenton, N. J.

Mrs. A. J. George, Executive Secretary, Congressional Committee.

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mrs. Francis D. Williams, Richmond, Va.  
Mrs. A. T. Dudley, Exeter, N. H.  
Mrs. H. F. Lyster, Detroit, Mich.  
Mrs. David Conant, Bradford, Vt.  
Miss Caroline Patterson, Macon, Ga.  
Mrs. J. B. Gilfillan, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Mrs. Robert Garrett, Baltimore, Md.

## State Associations Opposed to Woman Suffrage

### ALABAMA

President, Miss N. V. Baker, Selma.  
First Vice-President, Lida B. Robertson, Mobile.  
Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. Will Roberts, Selma.

### CONNECTICUT

President, Mrs. Daniel A. Markham, Hartford.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Lynde Harrison, New Haven.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Charles H. Lawrence.  
Secretary, Miss Carolyn Taylor.  
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. William T. Howe.  
Press Chairman, Mrs. William B. Williams.

### DELAWARE

President, Mrs. Henry B. Thompson.  
Recording Secretary, Mrs. David A. Reinhardt.  
Corresponding Secretary, Miss Emily P. Bissell, Wilmington.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Eugene Dupont, Jr.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Room 320, Oxford Building, 726 14th Street, Washington.  
President, Mrs. C. H. Davis.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Joseph M. Stoddard.  
Treasurer, Miss Alys Card.  
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. George B. Puller.  
Recording Secretary, Miss Annie Squire.

### GEORGIA

President, Miss Caroline Patterson, Macon.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Water D. Lamar.  
Secretary, Mrs. B. F. Sutton.  
State Organizer, Mrs. S. C. Moore.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Flewellen Holt.  
Chairman Membership Committee, Mrs. R. J. Taylor.  
Honorary Vice-President, Miss Mildred Rutherford.  
Chairman Finance Committee, Mrs. Charles Hilbun, Macon.

### IOWA

Office: 3 Hippee Building, Des Moines.  
President, Mrs. Simon Cassady.  
Secretary, Mrs. Harry Phillips.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Ralph Rollins.  
First Vice-President, Miss Alice French.

### MAINE

Honorary President, Mrs. Sidney W. Thaxter.  
President, Mrs. John F. A. Merrill, 94 Neal Street, Portland.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. George E. Bird.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Bertrand T. Wheeler.  
Secretary, Miss Alice Wood, 206 State Street, Portland.  
Assistant Secretary, Mrs. E. G. Abbott.

### MARYLAND

President, Mrs. Robert Garrett.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Michael B. Wild.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Rosalie Straus.  
Chairman, Membership Committee, Mrs. Francis T. Redwood.  
Recording Secretary, Mrs. P. Lea Thom.  
Executive Secretary, Mrs. M. C. Talbot, 611 Roland Avenue, Roland Park, Md.

### MASSACHUSETTS

687 Boylston Street, Boston.  
President, Mrs. John Balch.  
Chairman Executive Committee, Mrs. Louis A. Frothingham.  
Treasurer, Mrs. James M. Codman, Walnut Street, Brookline, Mass.  
Recording Secretary, Mrs. S. Reed Anthony.

### MICHIGAN

President, Mrs. Henry F. Lyster.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Charles W. Casgrain.  
Treasurer, Mrs. James Coslett Smith.  
Secretary, Miss Helen E. Keep, 753 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit.  
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. William S. Jerome.

### MINNESOTA

President, Mrs. J. B. Gilfillan, Minneapolis.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Walter Richardson.  
Honorary President, Mrs. Johnson W. Straight, St. Paul.  
Recording Secretary, Mrs. W. W. Sykes, Minneapolis.  
Treasurer, Mrs. H. F. Stevens, St. Paul.  
Corresponding Secretary, Ruth M. Currie, 302 Meyers Arcade, Minneapolis.

### NEBRASKA

President, Mrs. Edward Porter Peck, Omaha.  
Secretary, Mrs. Archibald Smith, 102 South 35th Street.  
Treasurer, Mrs. C. C. George, 5218 Chicago Street.  
Executive Committee, Mrs. Henry W. Yates, Chairman.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE

President, Mrs. A. T. Dudley, Exeter.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Edson J. Hill, Concord.  
Recording Secretary, Mrs. Otis G. Hammond, Concord.  
Corresponding Secretary, Miss Grace Morrill, 8 South State Street, Concord.  
Treasurer, Miss Carry R. Todd.

### NEW JERSEY

Office: 32 West State Street, Trenton.  
Honorary President, Miss Anna L. Dayton.  
President, Mrs. E. Yarde Breese.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, Jr.  
Recording Secretary, Mrs. G. Herbert Smith, Summit.  
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Ellsworth A. Corbett, Trenton.  
General Secretary, Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, Trenton.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Charles R. Smith, Ellison Street, Paterson.

### NEW YORK STATE

Office: 35 West 39th Street, New York.  
President, Miss Alice Hill Chittenden.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.  
Honorary Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Elihu Root, Mrs. Richard Watson Gilder, Mrs. Francis M. Scott.  
Secretary, Miss Elizabeth F. Gallaudet.  
Treasurer, Mrs. John A. Church.

### NORTH DAKOTA

President, Mrs. N. C. Young, Fargo.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. N. C. Frick.  
Secretary, Mrs. E. L. Wiswell, Fargo.  
Executive Committee, Mrs. N. C. Young, Mrs. W. J. Howe, Mrs. D. B. Holt.

### OHIO

Office: 804 Neave Building, Cincinnati.  
President, Mrs. Harry E. Talbot, Dayton.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. W. Austin Goodman.  
Secretary, Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz, Cincinnati.  
Treasurer, Mrs. John A. MacMillan, 9 Dartmouth Drive, Dayton.

### PENNSYLVANIA

Office: 1108 Finance Building, 1426 South Penn Square, Philadelphia.  
President, Mrs. Horace Brock.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. J. Gardner Cassatt.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Charles W. Henry.  
Secretary, Mrs. Charles Bingham Penrose.  
General Secretary and Assistant Treasurer, Miss Laura M. Sloan.

### RHODE ISLAND

President, Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale.  
First Vice-President, Miss Louise C. Hoppin.  
Secretary, Mrs. A. G. Harkness, Providence.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Elisha H. Howard.  
Newport Branch.  
Hon. Chairman, Mrs. Joseph Howland.  
Chairman, Mrs. Charles Weaver.  
Secretary, Mrs. Ernest Howe.

### TEXAS

President, Mrs. James B. Wells, Brownsville.  
Chairman Press Committee, Mrs. George F. Arnold, 709 McKinney Avenue, Houston.

### VERMONT

President, Mrs. David Conant, Bradford.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Edward Kirkland.  
Secretary, Miss S. Blanche Stranahan, Bradford.  
Treasurer, Miss Hattie Brock, South Newbury.

### VIRGINIA

Postoffice Box 368, Richmond.  
President, Mrs. Francis D. Williams.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Otho G. Kean.  
Honorary President, Miss Jane Rutherford.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Lewis Straus.  
Recording Secretary, Miss Maury Robinson.  
Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Chiles M. Ferrell.

### WEST VIRGINIA

President, Mrs. N. C. Gallaher, Charleston.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. Howard Simpson, Wheeling.  
Treasurer, Miss Jean Brown, Charleston.  
Secretary, Mrs. Mayo Tollman, 1583 Quarrier Street, Charleston.

### WISCONSIN

President, Miss Mary L. Atwood.  
First Vice-President, Mrs. George H. Noyes.  
Secretary, Miss Gertrude S. Bean, 4 Prospect Avenue, Milwaukee.  
Treasurer, Mrs. Ellis B. Usher.

## FROM PROPAGANDA TO PRACTICAL POLITICS

THE woman suffrage question has been brought out of the obscurity of the propaganda stage it has occupied for sixty years, and is made an issue in practical politics—even Presidential politics.

This is a great advantage, from an anti-suffrage viewpoint. The interest of the people will be excited to an extent that propaganda methods could not hope to accomplish, and every voter will now seek information on this subject. What that means to woman suffrage is defeat. Popular indifference is the best friend of woman suffrage. When it is made a real political issue, and the voters become interested in studying the subject from a broad biological and civic standpoint, the fallacies of feminism are going to become so well advertised that "he who runs may read" them and join in exposing their menace.

In his speech of acceptance, Mr. Hughes said:

"I indorse the declaration in the platform in favor of woman suffrage. I do not consider it necessary to review the arguments usually advanced on the one side or the other, as my own convictions proceed from a somewhat different point of view. Some time ago, a consideration of our economic conditions and tendencies, of the position of women in gainful occupations, of the nature and course of the demand, led me to the conclusion that the granting of suffrage to women is inevitable. Opposition may delay, but in my judgment cannot defeat, this movement. Nor can I see any advantages in the delay which can possibly offset the disadvantages which are necessarily incident to the continued agitation. Facts should be squarely met. We shall have a constantly intensified effort and a distinctly feminist movement constantly perfecting its organization to the subversion of normal political issues. We shall have a struggle increasing in bitterness, which I believe to be inimical to our welfare. If women are to have the vote, as I believe they are, it seems to me entirely clear that in the interest of the public life of this country, the contest should be ended promptly. I favor the vote for women."

The next day, in addressing the Women's Roosevelt League, Mr. Hughes indorsed the Federal suffrage amendment as follows:

"I explained last night my position with regard to a very important subject in which many of you, if not all of you, are deeply interested. I refer to woman suffrage. And, as I then said, I have come to the conviction that the granting of a vote to women is inevitable. I base that conclusion upon a consideration of our economic conditions.

"There may be those who disagree with that view, but I confess I do not understand how any candid mind can examine the tendencies of our life and reach a conclusion that permanently votes will be denied to women. I think it is impossible. That being my conviction, I deprecate most deeply sex organization based upon sex and not upon the general obligations of citizenship borne by all.

"And so I want to say women, if they are to have the vote, as I believe they are, are to come in as citizens with men.

"And so I stated that I favored woman suffrage.

"Now, I did not state last night my attitude with regard to the Federal amendment. That matter was not stated specifically in the Republican platform. I did not deal with it in making my formal response to the notification of my nomination. To-day, in answer to a telegram from Senator Sutherland, of Utah, I stated that, consistently with the principle and view I announced last night, I was in favor of the Federal amendment."

The telegram to Senator Sutherland was as follows:

"Your telegram has been received. In my answer to the notification I did not refer to the proposed Federal amendment relating to woman suffrage, as this was not mentioned in the platform. I have no objection, however, to stating my personal views. As I said in my speech, I think it to be most desirable that the question of woman suffrage should be settled promptly. The question is of such a nature that it should be settled for the entire country.

"My view is that the proposed amendment should be submitted and ratified and the subject removed from political discussion."

## ANTI-SUFFRAGE ADVANTAGES IN THE COMING CAMPAIGN

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS have every reason to look to the future with increased confidence. The declaration of the Presidential candidate in favor of a Federal Amendment, while the President prefers to adhere to his party platform, is likely to have a far-reaching effect.

It has thrust upon the suffragists a critical dilemma, while it leaves the anti-suffragists complacent. It will probably have little or no effect on the Presidential election, but if suffrage is made a partisan issue, the "cause" is lost. As Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw have both confessed, the only hope of ever getting a Federal suffrage amendment is to make it a non-partisan or bi-partisan measure.

It would take seventy-two votes in the Senate and 294 in the Lower House to pass a Federal suffrage amendment. No one party has had this strength in fifty years. When suffrage was voted upon in the Senate in March, 1914, the amendment received but thirty-five votes; and in January, 1915, it received only 174 votes in the House of Representatives.

Without advancing one step in the achievement of the Federal amendment, the declaration of the Presidential candidate has, in a measure, prejudiced its chances of passage.

The twelve States that have defeated woman suffrage possess 186 electoral votes, and have registered an actual 3,377,000 popular votes against suffrage. The twelve States that have adopted woman suffrage possess only ninety-one electoral votes, and the "cause" obtained only 556,000 popular votes in those States when enacted.

If the entire twenty-four States are taken into consideration, the anti-suffragists have polled nearly 1,000,000 more votes than the suffragists. And the other twenty-four States include the "solid South," which is anti-suffrage.

Federal action involves the actual disfranchisement of the voter on a question which he considers only slightly less important than who shall be President of the United States.

The average voter is likely to resent the implication that he cannot be trusted to represent the wishes of the women of his own family at the polls, and the proposition that a State Legislature thousands of miles away, which he had no part in electing, shall force him to pay higher taxes and shall plunge his wife into politics against her will.

This is the political aspect of the question. But what about the suffrage dilemma? They have promised to "deliver" Western women's votes on a scale never dreamed of by male politicians. They cannot keep this promise without antagonizing one of the great parties and without exposing the woman voter as a controlled voter—and themselves as "women bosses" as the papers call them. If they fail to keep this promise, which they have so widely advertised for the last two years, the impotency of the suffragists will be exposed to country-wide ridicule. Their bluff will have been called and found baseless. In either case, another argument against the participation of women in politics will be demonstrated. Woman suffrage is on trial. Anti-suffragists can afford to await the test with interest, and not a few will smile at this turn in the tide.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 7.—Senator Thomas of Colorado, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, said to-day that he had given up hope of getting a vote on the suffrage constitutional amendment at this session of Congress, because it could not be done without precipitating prolonged debate.

"I recently addressed a letter to each senator," said Senator Thomas, "asking if he would consent to the taking of this amendment and submitting it to a vote without argument. The responses I received were about equal in number in consenting and objecting. Consequently I have done nothing further about it."

# The Woman's Protest

## AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
37 West 39th Street, New York City.

President, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.....New York  
Secretary, Mrs. Wm. B. Glover.....Fairfield, Conn.  
Treasurer, Miss Caroline W. Stewart, Glen Ridge, N. J.

Vol. IX

August, 1916

No. 4

---

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

---

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

---

### FACTS TO BE SQUARELY MET

MR. HUGHES in his notification speech gives fresh evidence of the tendency of the woman suffrage question to becloud the minds of even the clearest thinkers.

Mr. Hughes declares his belief that woman suffrage is inevitable on economic grounds. That belief it is his right to hold—that declaration it is his privilege to affirm. Surely "facts should be squarely met" as Mr. Hughes asserts. The nominee meets the one fact of "a distinctly feminist movement" and seeks to remove forever that menace to "normal political issues" by granting the demands of an organized minority. There are other facts to be squarely met—the will of the majority of those most intimately concerned in this legislation, the women of the United States; the will of the electorate as declared within nine months by popular vote in five great States which represent nearly one-quarter of the votes of the Electoral College; the menace of diluting the electorate by the addition thereto of an indifferent or unwilling body of voters, increasing thereby the gravest menace to our institutions to-day, the stay-at-home vote which makes possible the power of the controlled vote. These are facts which should be squarely met, the consideration of which outweighs the unquestioned fact that there are women in this country of ours whose slogan is "Suffrage First." Mrs. Catt promises, in behalf of her followers, "We shall work for a new State, a new civilization, a new humanity, when we get the ballot." Meantime no aid is to be extended to reform, social or philanthropic work until the ballot is won. The *deus-ex-machina* of the Woman's Party announces that "the enfranchisement of women is more important than revenue, commerce, national defense or international relations!" Surely it is fantastic to reason that those women who to-day hold their patriotism at the price of the vote will faithfully and unselfishly serve democracy and the cause of Americanism when the vote is won. Patriotism at a price is the bane of our political life. Election day is not yet the day of Pentecost and it would leave the woman voter as it found the woman. The selfish women who seek their special ends to-day, whose shrill cry of "Suffrage First" is heard above the solemn tones of "America First," these women cannot represent our womanhood by their votes any more than they represent it by their mistaken agitation to-day. They do not represent even the best of the suffragists.

Mr. Hughes, in his address to the Women's Roosevelt League, goes further—takes a "short cut" straight across his party's platform in order to reach a Federal amendment. The platform declares for "Justice" to one-half the adult people of this country, but not once is "Justice" on the lips of the former Justice. The platform favors the extension of suffrage to women but recognizing the right of each State to settle this question for itself. Yes, facts should be squarely met and the fundamental fact is the declaration of the Chicago platform of

the right of the State to determine the qualification of its own electorate.

There is another "great and determined movement made by determined opposition" which has gained greater headway than woman suffrage. Would Mr. Hughes grant the demands of the prohibition party for the immediate submission of a Federal amendment because its advocates have "sidetracked our political life"?

Mr. Hughes purposes to be rid of the feminist party in a manner which suggests the mental processes of the woman who marries a man to be rid of him, but it will remain the same old feminist party. "Suffrage is the political branch of the tree of feminism!" "Suffrage is the means to an end, that end being a social revolution!" These are the declarations of those who seek political power as a means of driving all women into economic independence, that economic independence which marks the freedom of the new woman. These are "facts which should be squarely met."

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that granting the ballot to women will rid society of the present noisy, discontented minority organized to secure political activities for women, might there not be created a resentful majority, righteously indignant that their will had been overridden and their energies drafted without their consent into political channels when they are needed in conserving family and social life? Politics is not all of good government.

The Republican nominee has confused cause and effect. The recorded history of woman suffrage shows that it is based on the "sex-antagonism" which Mr. Hughes deprecates. "Tyrant man has usurped woman's rights!"—so resolved the Mothers of the Revolution. The demand for the vote is but the political symptom of that sex-antagonism which sets up the individual in place of the family as the unit of society. As Lord Cromer warns us, in this cruel sex war there must be no yielding to suffrage demands lest our whole social fabric be involved.

### "THE WOMEN BOSSES"

(New York World, August 5th).

THE women bosses, who have now obtained the co-operation of Mr. Hughes in their vicious political undertaking, boast that they have 4,000,000 women voters who will work as a unit to defeat President Wilson and the Democratic Party unless this amendment is jammed through Congress. If they have, so much the more reason why the amendment should be smothered. There can be no stability of government, no security of government, if 4,000,000 votes can be used as an instrument of blackmail in compelling amendments to the Constitution of the United States whenever a few bosses of either sex so determine.

The *World* is glad that President Wilson has refused to be intimidated, and hopes that the Democratic majority in Congress will stand firm in defense of the sovereign right of the people of each State to prescribe the terms and conditions of the franchise. When that is once surrendered no minority, whether of States or of people, can be sure that it has any rights left that a majority is bound to respect.

### WOMEN BOSSES COURTING DEFEAT

(World, July 27).

The biggest undertaking in bossism ever proposed in this country is the plan of the managers of the new Woman's Party to deliver 4,000,000 votes in twelve suffrage States to the Presidential candidate who makes the most attractive bid. What this party demands is votes for women by Federal constitutional amendment.

In their platforms both of the old parties pronounced in favor of the extension of the suffrage by States. President Wilson is committed to this policy. It is the hope of the bosses of the Woman's Party that before August 10th, when they are to hold a conference at Colorado Springs, Mr. Hughes will announce his conversion to the nation-wide movement first advocated by Susan B. Anthony, whereupon the votes of the 4,000,000 will be pledged to him without more ado.

In the execution of this scheme we can see only one certain result. It is not possible to herd 4,000,000 women at the polls in support of anybody. Most women are opposed to the Susan B. Anthony method of procedure, and practically all of them are Democrats or Republicans before they are suffragists.

The one thing sure to result from this enterprise, if it becomes formidable enough for any reason to attract attention, is the complication of the suffrage movement with party politics. What has been gained thus far has been due to the good-will of all parties. With either one of the great political organizations antagonized, as is contemplated, it will be many a year before there will be another suffrage State, and the Susan B. Anthony amendment will be as dead as its author.

## THE EFFECT OF SUFFRAGE PROPHECY ON THE PRESIDENT

**A**FTER Mr. Hughes came out for the Federal amendment, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, with a delegation of woman suffragists, visited President Wilson, asking him to support the amendment, just as many delegations of woman suffragists have done before for the last three years. What followed is best told in the reports of the press:

*New York World:*

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2.—Private Secretary Tumulty made it known to-day that President Wilson will not follow Charles E. Hughes in declaring for the Federal amendment for woman suffrage, but will stand by the St. Louis platform declaration for woman suffrage through the States.

In the announcement made by Mr. Tumulty the President accepts the challenge of the Woman's Party, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and Mr. Hughes. He has not changed his position on suffrage, and is not likely to. He voted for the suffrage amendment in New Jersey and thinks the Democratic platform went far enough when it recommended the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States.

The Congressional Union has given notice that it will urge the Woman's Party, at its national convention, to be held in Colorado Springs at an early date, "to indorse Mr. Hughes and go into the equal suffrage States and work for him and all other Republican candidates against Democrats."

### G. O. P. TO RAISE ISSUE

Many Democratic leaders in the East and South believe President Wilson's position will increase the party vote, but Congressmen from women suffrage States fear the wrath of the professional suffragists and the big campaign fund of the Congressional Union.

Republican leaders in the Senate, following the announcement of Hughes, are preparing to force a vote in that body on the Susan B. Anthony amendment. Efforts will be made to make the suffrage question a Republican issue. Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire made this statement to-day. The first step will be a motion in the Senate to take up and later vote on the amendment. Subsequent action may be expected in the House.

Democratic leaders believe that, on a test vote, almost as large a proportion of Democrats will vote for the suffrage amendment as will Republicans. This will open the way for the claim that suffrage is not a partisan question.

"We make no pretensions that Republicans will be solid for the amendment," said Senator Gallinger to-day. "There are many Senators whose opinions will not be affected by the declaration of the candidate. But enough can be depended upon to show the women voters that if the Republican Party were dominant they would be assured at least of a vote on their proposition."

Senator Penrose is one of the Republican Senators opposed to the Anthony amendment. His attitude is based on the belief that his constituents do not approve of it.

The Pennsylvania Senator previously had supported the movement. His change followed the adverse State-wide vote in Pennsylvania on the question. Mr. Penrose then said he could no longer advocate the plan.

### WOMEN TO KEEP UP FIGHT.

After the White House announcement the Congressional Union gave out this statement:

"With to-day's announcement from the White House that the President had not changed his mind on the suffrage issue, the last gleam of hope, so far as securing support from the Democratic Party for the Susan B. Anthony amendment was concerned, seems to fade.

*New York Tribune:*

The President is declared to have been irritated by statements that his indorsement of the amendment might be expected during the campaign. The President is understood never to have intended going beyond the declaration of the St. Louis platform, which was virtually drawn up by himself.

Democratic politicians were busy to-day discounting the strength or influence women voters might have in the campaign. The efforts of the Woman's Party, which is to hold a convention in Colorado Springs, August 10th, were dismissed as futile. Whatever votes were lost through opposition of the suffragists, it was declared, would be more than offset by the Democratic gains from the ranks of conservatives and other interests against the cause. Some of these leaders even went so far as to predict Hughes' stand in its favor had cost him his chances in Missouri and Wisconsin.

*New York Herald:*

Some Democrats took the view that Mr. Wilson's decision might strengthen him in several of the States which have rejected suffrage by an overwhelming vote. Ohio defeated woman suffrage. The vote showed that Republicans as well as Democrats voted against it. Some of those Republicans may be sufficiently opposed to woman suffrage to vote for Mr. Wilson. There are other similar instances, including Iowa and New Jersey.

Almost the entire East also is regarded as being against woman suffrage. The Democrats hope to capture votes in the East for that reason.

*New York Sun:*

Several Democratic senators do not agree with President Wilson that the question should be left to the States. Senators Shafroth and Ashurst are among them. Senator Chamberlain has been a strong advocate of a constitutional amendment.

On the other hand, some Republicans do not share the view of Charles E. Hughes that the question ought to be disposed of by a constitutional amendment. Senator Borah made a speech in the Senate against the amendment, but in favor of suffrage. He believes the question will come up later in the session and that there will be a test vote.

Senator Clapp, Minnesota, another ardent suffrage man, said to-day that he doubted whether the friends of suffrage would try to force action at this session.

*Washington Post:*

Senator Thomas, of Colorado, chairman of the Senate Suffrage Committee, declared yesterday that the prospect for adoption of the Susan B. Anthony woman suffrage resolution at this session had not been increased by Charles Evans Hughes' indorsement of the measure. He described Mr. Hughes' announcement as "a bid for votes," and declared it in no way represented the sentiment of the Republican Party.

Canvass of the Senate sentiment showed that if the Anthony amendment were put to a vote it would fail of adoption by at least five votes. Several senators, among them Penrose of Pennsylvania, who favored the resolution last year, have recently changed their minds, according to Senator Thomas.

*Philadelphia Public Ledger:*

The Penrose position with regard to woman suffrage at this time was developed yesterday, following the circulation of reports that the senator, prior to the Chicago convention, had written to Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, one of the Pennsylvania suffragist leaders, accepting an invitation to speak at a suffrage mass meeting and announcing that he favored woman suffrage. While some of the senator's lieutenants were inclined to believe at first that the report was authentic, it was the prevailing belief that the senator typified the Old Guard opposition to woman suffrage.

It was learned later that he had not declared himself favorable to the amendment in any letter written to Mrs. Roessing. But some color was lent to the report when it was announced that the senator on April 17th last wrote to Mrs. John O. Miller, of the Equal Suffrage Association of Pittsburgh, expressing regret that he would be unable to speak at a noonday luncheon meeting there on May 6th. However, he promised to speak later. In that letter Senator Penrose, although asked to address a suffrage meeting, did not declare himself favorable to the pending amendment.

*Philadelphia Record:*

Mr. Hughes advocates the abandonment of this traditional policy of the American Government in favor of a procedure which he believes will hasten a permanent settlement of the suffrage question. Mr. Wilson is committed to woman suffrage as strongly as the former Supreme Court justice, however; he has voted in New Jersey for equal suffrage in that State, and has committed himself unequivocally to the policy which he endorsed by his ballot.

### QUESTION OF METHODS

Thus the choice between the two candidates will narrow down to a choice between two methods of procuring a reform favored by both candidates. President Wilson's friends do not believe that he will suffer to any great extent politically as a result of the stand he has taken. They base their optimism on the two propositions:

That the entire body of equal suffragists is not comprehended by those who are propagandists of the Anthony amendment. It is believed, on the other hand, that the suffrage movement includes great numbers of voters who are content to submit the reform to the judgment of the people in the individual States to be affected.

That the majority of the women who are to vote in the November election cannot be delivered for or against either Presidential candidate solely according to his views on the Constitutional amendment propaganda.

Many public men believe that this will be an important test of the validity of equal suffrage.

Suffrage is not the paramount issue in the campaign. The electorate will be called upon in November to pass judgment on vital policies which have influenced the course of the nation's history. The view is not confined to a small number of public men that if the larger part of the women voters subordinate all consideration for the vital issues of the campaign in order to vote against the opponent of the Constitutional amendment, public confidence in their ability to exercise the sovereign right of suffrage will be diminished.

Advocates of equal suffrage have contended that the future of the country is safe in the hands of the women balloters. They have declared that a woman's judgment on political issues is as good as a man's and that if given the right to vote she will cast her influence upon the side of the national welfare regardless of the partisan affiliations of the candidates who present themselves.

In the face of these declarations of suffrage advocates, Democratic leaders find it difficult to believe that, in the first extensive exercise of the voting privilege by women they will set aside the issues of most vital concern to the nation in order to register their protest on a matter which does not immediately relate to the essential policies of the Government.

Since he became President Mr. Wilson has received many delegations of women and listened patiently and open-mindedly to their pleas that he lend a hand to the Anthony amendment movement.

Time and time again he has made clear statements of his conviction that the Federal Government ought not to interfere in the continued exercise by the States of a right which has been vested in them throughout our national history. The President considered that a principle was at stake—the same principle that he had in mind when he declared in favor of the local self-government method of dealing with the liquor question—and he has steadfastly refused to subordinate his loyalty to this principle either to his desire to see the women given the suffrage privilege or in order to promote his own political fortunes.

#### VEILED THREATS BY WOMEN

The final test of the President's conviction came yesterday, when Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, went to the White House to wield the new influence which had been placed in her hands by Mr. Hughes' declaration earlier in the day. Thinly veiled threats as to the effect of the President's failure to adopt the attitude which Mr. Hughes had taken were conveyed in the arguments which the suffrage leader submitted to the President.

After leaving the White House, Mrs. Catt gave out a long interview, recounting her conversation with the President, indicating the belief that he might later come around to her point of view.

## EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE SUFFRAGE SITUATION

(New York Times, August 3, 1916).

### THE HUGHES COMEDY.

ON June 8th the Republican National Convention adopted a platform whose final "plank" is this:

"The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith of government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizing the right of each State to settle this question for itself."

That leaves the matter where the great majority of suffragists are willing to have it left, or convinced that it must be left, with the people of the several States. The promoters of suffrage by Federal amendment, the representatives of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and the Woman's Party, labored in vain at Chicago, as they labored in vain at St. Louis later, for a declaration in favor of a suffrage amendment to the Constitution. The issue was clearly made. The Federalists were clearly beaten.

A candidate is entitled to a certain liberty of opinion, and we are no worshippers of the inviolable sanctity of political platforms, which are usually catch-alls. If woman suffrage and the manner of its attainment were a side issue, Mr. Hughes was justified in holding his peace. *De minimis*; an ex-Justice need not bother his head about trifles. But if it be so momentous that in its "continuous agitation" Mr. Hughes sees "nothing but danger to our security, to our unity, to our proper attitude toward political questions," and, therefore, "would take the shortest cut to its solution," which he curiously assumes to be a Federal amendment, surely his "personal," conflicting with the official view of his party was important enough to be mentioned in his telegram of acceptance. Not even in the notification speech did it come to light. In that he indorsed the platform declaration. How a man who believes in suffrage by Federal amendment can indorse leaving suffrage to the States less elastic minds cannot comprehend. On Monday night he propounded the extraordinary theory, so unflattering to the suffragists and, were it true, fatal to suffrage, which he elaborated on Tuesday night. He had already let the cat out of the bag on Monday forenoon in his answer to Senator Sutherland's telegram. He "did not refer," in the notification speech, "to the proposed Federal amendment relating to woman suffrage, as that was not mentioned in the platform." No, its exact opposite was mentioned. The former Justice, in the large charity of his soul, supports both, one officially, one personally. There is a fine atmosphere of arrangement to the comedy. A week or two before the Carnegie Hall meeting some of the pythonesses of the Woman's Party were predicting the happy ending. Mr. Sutherland telegraphs on July 31st this blunt identification of black and white:

"That platform commits the party to the principle of woman suffrage and recognizes the right of each State to determine the question for itself. It is silent upon the subject of the constitutional amendment, and therefore leaves everybody of the party free to determine for himself this question."

That a State shall decide for itself whether it wants suffrage or not and that it should have suffrage forced upon it by other States is the same thing. A remarkable proposition which the sometime Associate Justice accepts and acts upon. If he had confined his remarks to the expression of his opinion that woman suffrage is inevitable on economic grounds, nobody would have a right to complain. It is his assumption of sex solidarity, so insulting to the intelligence of suffragists, that makes so many readers of his speech to the Roosevelt Women's League doubt his judgment or his candor, or both. \* \* \*

If Mr. Hughes is duped by a mythical solidarity of woman suffragists "in the twelve suffrage States," if he wishes to concede woman suffrage because he believes its advocates so incredibly foolish and unpatriotic as to sacrifice or neglect the safety and interest of their country for that, if he accepts an error or calumny, indignantly denied by the responsible and thoughtful advocates of votes for women, he is an innocent whom it would be dangerous to make President. If, as his supporters joyously proclaim, his purpose was to outgeneral Wilson, make a bid for the fictitious "4,000,000" woman voters, sex-solid, as the dream goes, in the suffrage States, and for the support of the Woman's Party, so powerful in proclamation, what must be the effect of his course upon the independents who will decide this election? It is painful to say it, but it must be said, that in two days a figure long respected and honored has either suddenly deteriorated or revealed itself as it is. So late on the Supreme Bench and now playing lightly with the Constitution, "playing politics," trying to delude with a phantom amendment, angling for votes.

Mr. Hughes misjudges the woman voters; there are some millions of men voters, though he forgets them for a moment. Whatever they think of woman suffrage, what do they think of Mr. Hughes' little suffrage surprise? A surprise and a sorrow to many of us, who, without regard to politics, cherish strong, straightforward character, high motives, high intelligence, moral dignity in public men. If as a candidate Mr. Hughes plays such fantastic tricks, what would he do if elected President?

(New York Journal of Commerce)

THERE are some very petty efforts being made to get some kind of party advantage in this campaign out of more or less equivocal declarations in platforms and letters and speeches on woman suffrage. The kind of meddling that is attempted, and especially the unbecoming display of a militant spirit by some of the advocates of that cause, will do it no good. This is a time when there are serious national issues in the public mind and woman suffrage is not an issue in the present campaign at all. Men of both parties profess to be in favor of it and men of both parties have no sympathy with it. Just how they are divided there is no way of telling, but it is not on party lines and should not be made so. There is little to choose between the equivocal platform declarations, and nothing will be gained by trying to set one against the other.

This cannot be made a national issue without proposing to have the Federal Constitution amended. There is a valid argument for woman suffrage where the prevailing sentiment in any State is in favor of it, but it should not be forced by a preponderance of States favoring it upon any State which is not in favor of it. It probably could not be done if attempted, but it would be unwise to make the attempt. It is much better to have each State decide for itself, and it is within separate States that advocates for the cause should work for it. More progress may be made in that way if it is to be made at all.

(Baltimore, Md., Sun, August 3, 1916)

**I**MEDIATELY following the uncertain declarations of his speech concerning woman suffrage the Republican candidate makes an announcement flatly declaring himself in favor of an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for votes for women. Whatever may be thought of his rather naive argument for woman suffrage, whatever may be thought of the wisdom of the candidate in thus placing himself in opposition to his party platform, still it must be admitted that he has come out flat-footedly for the amendment.

His argument is a naive one. Woman suffrage is coming, therefore the quicker we get it the better. By adopting it at once we shall escape the sort of turmoil that England has seen. Such is the burden of his talk. He does not say specifically that he thinks it will be a good thing; but it is inevitable, therefore the quicker we get it over with the better.

There are at least a few millions of people in the country who agree neither with his premise nor his conclusion. They point to the result of the recent campaign for suffrage in Iowa, where with the suffrage party abundantly supplied with money; with, according to Mrs. Catt, 500 workers for the cause on duty days, nights and Sundays; with, still according to the suffragists, more than 600 of the 848 newspapers of the State for the

measure, the anti-suffragists, with little money and not more than twenty-five speakers, went into the campaign and won a substantial victory. They say that this is the twelfth defeat for woman suffrage since 1912, and that the legislatures in more than twenty States have refused to submit the question to the people. As to the inevitability of the movement, they point to the fact that in various States which have voted on the subject more than once the majorities against suffrage in the later elections were larger than in the earlier.

They further hold that in view of the intense opposition of the women in many of the States, and particularly in view of the complication of the suffrage with the race question in the South, the prospect of further turmoil, of "danger to our security, to our unity, to our proper attitude toward political questions," to quote Mr. Hughes, will be far greater if an amendment is passed by Congress than if the States are allowed to settle the question for themselves.

In his address before the Women's Roosevelt League Mr. Hughes made a curious misstatement. "That matter," he said, speaking of the Federal suffrage amendment, "was not stated specifically in the Republican platform." The exact wording of the platform was as follows:

"The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself."

Certainly if three-fourths of the States of the Union or more can force woman suffrage on the other one-fourth or less of the States, as will be the case if a suffrage amendment is adopted by any other than a unanimous vote, it cannot be said that each State has a right to settle the question for itself. The attempt to reconcile the two positions will be recognized as a bit of quibbling.

## "MR. HUGHES'S AMAZING SURRENDER"

(New York World, August 4th)

**E**VERY white man in the United States who votes obtained his vote through the States.

Every woman in the United States who votes obtained her vote through the States.

Every black man in the United States who votes obtained his vote either through the States or by the common consent of the electors of his community that he should exercise the franchise.

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is without effect. It was framed and adopted for partisan purposes and has been worse than a failure. It created an irrepressible conflict between the white and black races of the South and has done more than any other one thing to hinder the progress of the negro people since they were emancipated from slavery.

Mr. Hughes proposes that the United States shall commit a new and greater blunder in the way of Federal control of the franchise by the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution giving the vote to women in all States. This is to be done by act of Congress and by act of thirty-six State Legislatures without a referendum, and without any of the processes by which the franchise has hitherto been conferred by the various States. It is to be done by a method which gives Nevada, with a population of 81,875, the same power as New York, with a population of 9,113,279. It is a measure to enable Idaho to say who shall vote in electing a Mayor of New York City, and Montana to say who shall vote in electing an Alderman in Buffalo.

The population of the United States by the census of 1910 was 91,972,266. More than 50,000,000 of this population is centered in the twelve States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Texas, Massachusetts, Indiana, New Jersey, Michigan, Georgia, Missouri and Wisconsin. Yet these twelve States would be powerless to prevent the adoption of such an amendment if the Legislatures of the other thirty-six States ratified it. They would count no more than the States of Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Rhode Island, Delaware, Arizona, Utah, New Hampshire, Vermont, Wyoming, North Dakota and New Mexico, with a combined population of only 4,000,000.

When the Federal Constitution was framed its makers left the question of suffrage to the several States. Except for the abortive Fifteenth Amendment it has always remained with the States. The reasons are obvious. It is the State Governments and the local Governments which touch most closely the daily lives of the people, and the National Government is merely representative of the voters of these States. Condi-

tions varied in the different States in respect to property, to education and to industry. It was evident that there could be no universal qualifications of suffrage, and that the people of each State must judge for themselves how far the franchise ought to be extended. They have so judged, and their Constitutions ratified by popular vote have fixed the standards of suffrage.

Now come Mr. Hughes and the bosses of the Women's Party to say that the people of the States are to be deprived of this sovereign power and that the Utah Legislature has more right to say who shall vote in Boston than the people of Massachusetts have.

The proposal is so vicious, the possibilities are so menacing, the plan is so undemocratic and so unrepugnant, that it seems incredible that a man who has been an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court and has been recognized as one of the great leaders of the American bar could adopt it even when offered the women's vote in various Western States as a return for his support. Mr. Hughes might as well advocate the complete abandonment of all local self-government and the centralization of all authority in Washington. When a Federal amendment can say who shall vote, another Federal amendment can say who shall not vote, and we have reached the beginning of the end.

Assuming that Mr. Hughes is sincere in his support of this amendment, he must also favor Federal control of all elections to enforce the provisions of this Suffrage amendment, a national Prohibition amendment, national regulation of marriage and divorce, Federal control of taxation, and the assumption by the Federal authority of all powers of government in which forty-eight States have failed to provide a uniform rule.

If the States are to be stripped of all power to regulate the franchise which controls their governments, it is hardly worth while to maintain the States. They have been deprived of the fundamental authority over their own institutions which gives them stability. When the day comes that the people of New York, for example, can no longer say who is to vote and who is not to vote in a local election, the State of New York might as well shut up shop and give all its domestic affairs into the hands of an omniscient and omnipotent Congress.

Mr. Hughes's party, although it has long been the party of centralization, refused to go to the lengths that he has gone in this propaganda for the destruction of local self-government. Nor do we believe that a majority of the Republican voters will follow him in his surrender to the demands of the women bosses.

## WHY FEW WOMEN WILL VOTE WITH THE "WOMAN'S PARTY"

THE American woman enjoys more privileges, more opportunities, and greater respect than any woman in the world. Her reputation for high ideals, disinterested service and unselfish loyalty to the common good has been nobly earned—and without the vote. This prestige of womanhood is now being used as a cloak by a small group of misrepresentatives of the sex to further a political propaganda and to adopt almost any methods, propagate any frauds, attack any man or measure by fair means or foul, and yet escape general criticism—because they are women.

It is tacitly assumed that whatever women are doing to get the vote must be right or women would not be doing it. If the public is not aroused to the fallacy of this assumption it will persist until the public conscience is dulled entirely to the perception of these abuses. If any group of capitalists, or any male interest in the country threatened Presidents and members of Congress, organized huge lobbies and openly raised large sums to "convert Congress," and to manipulate the Federal Constitution to take away from the people the right to vote on an important domestic question which has been granted them under the several Constitutions of the States, involving increased taxes, and additional office-holding—there would be a storm of protest, from press, pulpit and people. But the suffragists do it—and because they are women—it passes almost unnoticed.

No man would dare organize a group of persons systematically to heckle the President of the United States. When a woman suffragist does it she gets her photograph printed throughout the country—which was probably what she wanted—and hardly a breath of condemnation is uttered.

No man would offer a Presidential candidate—an ex-Associate Justice of the Supreme Court—the sum of \$100 with the stipulation that it was conditional upon the violation by him of his party platform and his support of a Federal suffrage amendment. The president of a woman's college and of a college equal suffrage league does it—her action is reported with approval by the official journal of the suffragists—and no one hints that this looks like what would be called attempted bribery—if a man did it.

Fake figures and misrepresentation of actual conditions are repeated over and over again for the benefit of the "cause." Women rise without a blush and offer 4,000,000 other women's votes that they never had to first one party then another.

Every woman over twenty-one in the western suffrage States is being claimed not only as a member of the so-called "Woman's Party" but as a controlled vote: This "Woman's Party" is the child of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, an organization with plenty of money, a few rich and radical supporters, eight speakers, twenty-four organizers, and claiming a membership of only 4,000 before it suddenly assumed the ownership of all the electoral votes, and nearly all the popular votes, in twelve States.

Miss Alice Paul, head of the Congressional Union, has recently revived her claim of "4,000,000 women voters."

There are not 4,000,000 women's votes. The maximum estimate of the number of women who will vote for President in 1916 is only 2,441,479. The total vote for the twelve States where women will vote for President in 1916 was only 3,295,973 in 1912. This included the women's vote in six States. In 1914 the total vote for Governor or Senator in all these States was only 3,753,949. This included the women's vote in nine States.

The addition that can be expected in 1916 is from the women voters of Illinois, Montana and Nevada. A generous estimate of this vote—allowing the same proportion of votes cast as among the men—would be 1,129,000, making the total vote by

both sexes in these twelve States 4,882,949. The women would not cast half of these votes, perhaps only a third, as they have never voted in such numbers as the men in any State election.

Moreover, about one-third of the women's vote will come from Illinois, where the suffrage association of the State has publicly repudiated the Woman's Party. A large share will come from California, where club-women recently refused to receive the envoys of the Congressional Union.

Again, both Dr. Anna Shaw and Mrs. Carrie C. Catt, past and present Presidents of the National Suffrage Association, have condemned the Woman's Party. Mrs. Catt told the Democratic Committee that she represented over 90 per cent. of the advocates of woman suffrage in the country. Undoubtedly she does. Therefore, if the Woman's Party represents but 10 per cent. of the suffragists, and the suffragists are only 10 per cent. of the women—as we have always contended with good reason, on account of the official suffrage figures and canvasses—then the Woman's Party controls one woman in a hundred.

This means that if women cast 2,000,000 votes in 1916 the Congressional Union stands a fair chance of getting about 20,000 of them to vote for "suffrage first."

We have too much respect for our sex to believe that more than two or three out of a hundred could be influenced to change their allegiance to a party on account of this question. But let us be generous and allow them 50,000 controlled women in the West. Is there any candidate who is afraid of this number, and who would sacrifice the constitutional "right of each State to settle this question for itself" in order to get these votes?

The following table shows that there are only 4,882,949 votes to be cast by both sexes. The increase in the woman's vote is estimated from the men's vote in the three States from which the increase will come. The men in Montana, Nevada and Illinois, in 1912, cast 667 votes for every 1000 men over twenty-one. This proportion is allowed in the estimate of women's votes, although women have not cast 450 votes for every 1000 women over twenty-one in any State or first class city election.

The downright dishonesty of claiming 4,000,000 women's votes is thus evident.

State	1912	1914	1916
	Vote for President	Vote for U. S. Senator or Governor	Vote for President (Estimate)
Arizona .....	23,722	51,007*	Increase in Women's vote:
California .....	673,527*	926,667*	
Colorado .....	266,871*	270,629*	
Idaho .....	105,755*	107,913*	
Illinois .....	1,146,193	1,015,808	
Kansas .....	365,444	530,206*	
Montana .....	79,826	79,778	1,129,000
Nevada .....	20,115	21,567	
Oregon .....	137,040	248,052*	
Utah .....	112,385*	114,666*	
Washington .....	322,799*	345,279*	
Wyoming .....	42,296*	43,377*	3,753,949
	(6)	(9)	(12)
Total vote.....	3,295,973*	3,753,949*	4,882,949*

\*With women voting.

(New York Times).

THE women" and the woman suffragist politicians are not one and the same. Even for women who believe in woman suffrage the issue will cease to be woman suffrage when they get in. In twelve States they have got it, and the issue has ceased to be suffrage for them. For the other women voters in those States it never was the issue. What is constantly lost sight of is that whenever suffrage is granted to the women of a State, it is granted to all of them, not to suffragists only.

"The women" are favorite words of description; suffragists employ them, meaning themselves, and newspaper and magazine writers are fond of them, but they are not accurate.

Let us suppose that suffrage was granted to the women of New York in say, 1900. For sixteen years, let us say, they have been voting on each issue as it came up; they voted successively on the issues of Odellism, Murphyism, the Hughes bills, the Sulzer scandal, and in the city they voted in four elections on the question of Tammany rule. They have grown accustomed to the vote and hardly remember the fight which gave it to them in 1900. Many of them were children at the time, and voting is now as natural to them as to men. They are making their preparations now to vote, just like the men, on the issue of upholding President Wilson's Administration or rebuking it. Suddenly there appear before them a band of women politicians from, say, Indiana, who tell them that they must vote as a unit, not on this issue, but to defeat a political party which has refused to confer the vote on the women of Indiana.

What would the women of New York do? Some of them would do as they were told, some would not; most of them undoubtedly would not. They would vote, like their fathers and

brothers, on the tariff question, the Mexican question, preparedness, and the other issues of the day. In the State of Washington, a year or so ago, some of these women politicians from the East loomed up in Seattle to instruct the women voters there to vote against a Democratic candidate because he did not favor extending the suffrage to other States. The Democratic women of Kings County met and passed some resolutions heatedly denouncing these intruders for telling them how to vote, and affirming their Democratic regularity, their confidence in the candidate, and their desire for his election. They described the missionaries as "wordy peripatetic suffragists" and described their performance as "a piece of shameless effrontery." Some editorial comments which the *Times* made on this occurrence at the time drew an indignant letter from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in which she declared that the women politicians who were thus trying to make women vote as a unit "do not constitute more than one-fourth of one per cent. of the total number of [suffrage] advocates."

In discussing what the women voters will do this year, it might be well to keep in mind the fact that women are human; also that there is a difference between women and "the women."

## ECONOMIC TENDENCIES AND FEMINISM

**W**HATEVER one may think of Mr. Hughes' declaration for woman suffrage, one must credit the Republican candidate with formulating an absolutely new argument about woman suffrage.

The opinion which led Mr. Hughes to father the Federal suffrage amendment is unique. As he says, his own convictions proceed "from a somewhat different viewpoint" from the arguments "usually advanced on the one side or the other."

Who would have thought that two new theories, neither of which is indorsed by suffragists nor anti-suffragists, would have led to Mr. Hughes' statement? Yet that is what has happened. And neither of the theories is admitted as true, by suffragists or anti-suffragists!

Here they are:

1. "Some time ago a consideration of our economic conditions and tendencies, of the position of women in gainful occupations, of the nature and course of the demand, led me to the conclusion that the granting of suffrage to women is inevitable."

2. "We shall have a constantly intensified effort and a distinctly feminist movement constantly perfecting its organization to the subversion of normal political issues. We shall have a struggle increasing in bitterness, which I believe to be inimical to our welfare."

In other words, Mr. Hughes' two theories are that working women want to vote and that woman suffrage is the remedy for feminism!

Let the following facts speak in contrast to the above theories:

1. In the State of Massachusetts 265,500 women from twenty-one to forty-four years of age are engaged in gainful occupations. This is 38 per cent. of all the women of this age group. Massachusetts is the most industrial State in the country to-day, especially in industries involving the woman worker.

2. In the State of Kansas only 46,100 women of the corresponding age group are gainfully occupied. This is only 16 per cent. of all the women of this age. Kansas is an agricultural State, with few industries.

3. Massachusetts has twice the number of women and nearly six times the number of women workers as live in Kansas.

If the "economic tendencies" theory will work at all it ought to apply to these two States. But this is what happened:

1. In 1912 woman suffrage polled 175,246 votes in Kansas, winning by a majority of 16,000—with hardly any opposition among women.

2. In 1915 woman suffrage polled only 162,492 votes in Massachusetts, losing by a majority of 133,447—the greatest proportionate anti-suffrage victory ever scored against the "cause"—and the anti-suffrage movement is stronger among the working women of Massachusetts to-day than it is anywhere in the country!

What is the matter? Why doesn't the theory work out? Let the census explain the thing:

1. Nearly 40 per cent. of all American girls between the ages of 16 and 20 are gainfully occupied—yet only 26 per cent. of them remain in industry after that age. At the age of forty-five only 15 per cent. of them remain in gainful occupations.

2. The average employment of women is from three to seven years.

In other words, women do not remain in industry. They marry! They give up "economic independence"; they forsake the "freedom" of the factory—to become the wives of men and the mothers of little children—to seek the freedom of the fire-side! Eight out of every ten women over twenty-one do this. And by the time she finds a man who will work for her in the world, so that she may work for him and the race in the home, the woman worker is quite content to have him vote for her, too. She resigns her independence to obtain interdependence—because her experience and her heart both tell her it is better!

Furthermore, according to the census, it will take thirty years before the rest of the country catches up to Massachusetts in the matter of employing women! And the last election would seem to indicate that even then the opposition to woman suffrage may be more pronounced among these women. The "tendency" theory seems like "a long way to woman suffrage."

But lest the suffrage reader think this is merely an argument and only an assembly of statistics to answer the Republican candidate's theory, let us have a feminist's views.

William I. Chenery, who conducts the "Guide Post" of the feminist movement in the columns of the *Chicago Herald*, says of Mr. Hughes' theory:

"Economic considerations led Justice Hughes to the suffragist camp."

After quoting the statement, Mr. Chenery says:

"That is a very significant confession, the more so because women in industry are largely apathetic toward suffrage. \* \* \* The only important group of working women who care about the vote are members of the Woman's Trade Union League and other labor organizations. The percentage is negligible. However much they need it, if suffrage waited on the expressed demands of the working women there would probably not be a single suffrage State in the country."

"The suffragists are not the workers. They are more nearly the feminists—the privileged women of leisure who have sufficient time to give attention to the matter. \* \* \* They have sought the vote not to improve their industrial condition. They have no industrial condition. They have been suffragists because of their feminism. \* \* \*"

This brings us to the consideration of the second theory. Will

woman suffrage cure feminism? Mr. Chenery, who is an authority, says:

"As the privileged women recognize their own parasitic state, they become feminists and suffrage is the first step!"

In other words, the "women of leisure, with too little to do," as Mrs. Carrie C. Catt expressed it a few months ago, are seeking the vote because they are *feminists*, and as the first step for feminism!

There never has been any disagreement on this point between suffragists and anti-suffragists. Perhaps it is the only point in the entire discussion upon which the opposing camps agree. The feminists are working for woman suffrage—to get feminism—and yet Mr. Hughes is advocating woman suffrage because he thinks it would stop feminism, and because he thinks the working woman is demanding the ballot!

Mr. Hughes does not approve of feminism. And yet he approves of the first step toward feminism, in the hope that the feminists will step backwards!

Mr. Chenery has more of interest to say about feminism:

"Feminism so short a time ago was the exclusive property of intellectuals and radicals. \* \* \* Charlotte Perkins Gilman was the reputed owner of the American copyright, while occasional journalists displayed their daring by writing mysteriously of Ellen Key and feminist Scandinavia. It wasn't safe to talk about in public. Five years can't have passed since Norman Hapgood committed the editorial indiscretion of announcing himself an advocate of feminism. \* \* \*

"Justice Hughes didn't commit the *faux pas* for which Editor Hapgood suffered. He didn't announce his approval of feminism. \* \* \* Even in his approval of suffrage he did not line up with the especially feminist group who compose the Woman's Party."

Most readers are familiar with the fact that Mr. Hapgood's weekly has gone out of business since advocating feminism, although it had a long history of continued success and support before that time.

It is public opinion and the activity of the anti-suffragists that has curbed feminism in this country. Even the *New Republic* and the *Woman Voter*, official suffrage organ, have admitted that.

### NATURE'S WARNING TO SUFFRAGISTS

**I** SMILE at your puny revoltings  
Fair rebels who tug at your chains  
With links of Eternity's forging,  
My genius invented your pains.

I fashioned you part of a wonder  
Aglow with an essence divine  
Completing the scheme of Creation  
Fulfilling—not your law—but MINE.

My reign is as old as the ages,  
My ruling began with the stars.  
Oh, wise modern feminist sages,  
I SET ALL YOUR LIMITS AND BARS!

Your quarrel is not with conditions,  
Your freedom no man can decree;  
If grievance you have, oh my daughters,  
Be sure it is only with me.

Outrage not my limit of patience  
For each insubordinate soul  
Who dares to defy my pronouncement  
Must pay the last tithe of my toll.

THEN prate not the personal freedom,  
My will you are bound to obey  
For I am Dame Nature, your mother,  
And you my frail daughters of clay.

FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ.

It is true that they have shown no appreciation, but they have admitted nevertheless:

"The most paradoxical situation in the suffrage movement, however, is the taboo on feminism. In Europe the whole woman movement centers on social problems as they affect women: marriage, divorce, economic independence, the rights of women with regard to children—legitimate and illegitimate. All the subjects which American suffragists do not discuss constitute the major part of the European movement, with suffrage as a minor issue. Here the political aspect of the movement is the only one which has an appeal sufficiently extensive to merit organization. American women classify themselves as suffragists and feminists, and, curiously enough, the feminist is regarded as a liability to the suffrage movement.

"This separation of suffragism and feminism is due partly to the desire of suffragists to avoid alliance with other reforms, but chiefly to the type of campaign waged by the organized anti-suffragists since the beginning of the struggle."—*Woman Voter*, June, 1916.

This is emphatically true.

It is significant that the suffragists consider feminism as a "reform," but one which they are afraid to advocate openly until they are enfranchised. The article from which we quote was headed "Sacrificed to Suffrage," showing that the suffragists are really restive under the restraint on feminism enforced by the organized anti-suffragists.

The removal of this wholesome restraint by the admission of all feminists to the franchise can have but one effect—the furthering of the feminist program. The feminists themselves, every one working for woman suffrage, are certainly not working for a cause which is against their own interests. It could be shown on an elaborate scale, if space permitted, that feminism flourishes in suffrage Scandinavia more than anywhere else in the world, and that in America the most feminist utterances and practices have been tolerated where women vote. In fact, the only section of the country to-day where they are "perfecting their organization to the subversion of normal political issues" is in the Western States, where the Woman's Party is urging women to forget all other issues and vote for "suffrage first."

**SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH** of Idaho, who has been quoted by suffrage organs as saying that the suffrage plank in the Republican platform neither rejected nor indorsed the Federal amendment, has sent the following letter to James Callaway, correspondent of the Macon, Ga., *Telegraph*, denying his reported change of opinion:

"MY DEAR MR. CALLAWAY:

"I am in receipt of your favor, together with the clipping from the newspaper containing your reference to my supposed change of view on the woman suffrage question. I am now, as I have been at all times, firmly opposed to the proposed national amendment providing for woman suffrage. I have never changed my mind in the least and have no expectation whatever of doing so. The latest public expression which I have made upon the subject you will find in the Congressional Record about thirty days ago in the form of a letter which I addressed to some constituents who had asked me to support the amendment. With reference to the Chicago convention, I never at any time, either directly or indirectly, gave any support to the Anthony amendment. I am utterly and uncompromisingly opposed to imposing suffrage upon any State until the majority of the voters of that State have signified their willingness to take it, and I want that action to be by the separate action of each State.

"(Signed) WILLIAM E. BORAH."

(San Francisco *Argonaut*, July, 1916).

It is a strange delusion, if it be a delusion, on the part of the more active proponents of woman suffrage that they can "control" a little matter of "four million votes" in the coming presidential election, that number being coincident, theoretically, with the number of women who are privileged to vote in the thirteen States where suffrage is the rule. Can it be possible that Mrs. Moran of Washington, Mrs. Belmont of New York, and others do not know that less than half of the four million women entitled to vote will take the trouble to register and go to the polls, and that those who do vote will consult, not the militant leaders of the "movement," but their own sentiments and judgments, when the time for voting comes? Extravagant claims based upon the notion that a little coterie of self-constituted "leaders" can "swing the woman vote of the country" tend rather to discredit than to promote the general movement.

## THE PROGRESS OF THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

### CONNECTICUT

THE public activities of the members of the State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage are now decreasing in number, but the informal "campaign of education" goes on unabated through the efforts of the 16,000 members, many of whom have left their city homes for their summer cottages at the shore or mountains. Through the next six weeks there will be a few public meetings, but the greater part of the time will be devoted to preparation for the fall campaign in view of the approaching Presidential elections.

The members of the State board of governors are active, however, arranging the scope of the fall campaign, which will increase in vigor from late August until the end of October, and will be the means of placing before every voter in the State the real reason for the opposition to woman suffrage which obtains among the women themselves. The organization of a committee from the members, in which every town will be represented, is being rapidly consummated, and when the campaign opens it is expected that every candidate for office will be interviewed by the member of the committee from his town and the strong sentiment which prevails in this State against "the cause" will be laid before him.

To the State president, Mrs. Daniel A. Markham, of Hartford, come encouraging reports of growth in membership in the Connecticut Association, which is already one of the best organized of any of the twenty-four State branches of the national body, so that when the membership rolls are brought up to date for the first of next month a membership of over 17,000 will be shown, according to reports. The branches in Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport and Norwich report gratifying increases, and from the small towns in which the recent "suffrage drive" was made there come also fresh recruits to the cause of anti-suffrage. This phenomenon is one which, the managers find, always accompanies a "Votes for Women" campaign, for it gives the women opposed to suffrage a chance to lay before their friends the arguments against suffrage which they can base on statements made by the suffragists and those who speak for them.

### GEORGIA

THE Georgia Association met at the Hotel Dempsey on July 5th, and held an enthusiastic meeting; as usual new members were added. There was a discussion of the best means of working towards defeating the adoption of woman suffrage by the State Federation of Clubs when it

convenes in Macon in October; the members were cautioned to be on the alert. Since then, there has been a committee meeting at the home of the President and 200 club members have been mailed anti-suffrage literature.

The address of Mr. Eugene Anderson, the President of the Georgia-Alabama Business College, the leading business college of the South, has been published under the auspices of the association, and Mrs. Anderson saw that a copy was placed on the desk of each legislator. Different members have been sent letters and literature and when the City of Macon entertained the legislature at a barbecue on July 4th, different members expressed their opposition to suffrage.

The President and other members were given seats on the Governor's Review Stand, as that was the day of the "Preparedness Parade." Articles endorsing "Preparedness" and against marching in the parade were published by Miss Patterson and endorsed by an enthusiastic meeting of the Executive Board and through the stand of this association. The two chapters of D. A. R., the U. D. C., the Woman's Club and other organizations refused to march and celebrated the day by showing their patriotism in other ways. A beautiful tableau was staged by the Association largely through Mrs. Walter Lamar's efforts. This was "The Spirit of America"—a painting by Blassfield, and the beautiful woman who posed was Mrs. Grant Fuller, a member of the Executive Board of the Association. The General in command of the Georgia State Troops, General Walter Harris, gave orders that all the soldiers in the parade were to salute this figure, and himself set the example. Numbers of women stood on the sidewalks and witnessed the marching, and many "antis" waved flags and manifested patriotism in other ways.

Camp Harris, the mobilization camp of the State, has been supplied with magazines by this Association and the men have expressed appreciation; in some of these were anti-suffrage literature and on them was written, "Compliments of Georgia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage." The hospitals have been supplied with delicacies by the members.

A number of new members have been added in Macon and other places.

### MAINE

THE most significant meeting in Maine in the past month was at Bar Harbor on Thursday, July 27th, at the home of Mrs. Coales.

A year previously suffragists had been heard, and this year the cottagers asked

Mrs. A. J. George, of Brookline, Mass., to present a statement of the case against woman suffrage.

Among the patronesses were Mrs. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mrs. Herbert Satterlee and Mrs. Francis M. Scott, of New York; Mrs. Markoe of Philadelphia, Mrs. Dimock of Washington and Mrs. Sturges and Mrs. Cotes of Rhode Island.

The speaker was introduced by former president George Harris of Amherst and was greeted with enthusiastic approval. This is the first anti-suffrage meeting among the cottagers of Bar Harbor, and will, it is believed, encourage more meetings of a similar character.

Miss Edith Koon, daughter of the late J. C. Koon, is making a trip over the entire State in the interests of the Maine Association, explaining the objects of its work and the most effective manner in which organization can be effected. Miss Koon, as usual with anti-suffrage workers, is a member of that class of wage earners, teachers and college graduates which is always claimed to be in favor of woman suffrage. She disputes all three of the suffrage contentions, and is having many successful meetings.

### MARYLAND

AT an Executive Board meeting of the Maryland Association held in May it was decided to close the down-town office for the summer, inasmuch as the Maryland Legislature had given suffrage another set-back in February by defeating the bill to send the question to the electorate, and the activities of the suffragists in Maryland seem to be but a flutter of a few, who are gaining no ground or converts.

A special meeting of the Executive Board was held at the home of Mrs. M. B. Wild, First Vice-President, in June to hear the report of the Iowa campaign from Mrs. M. C. Talbot, Executive Secretary, who had just returned, after helping in the work for three weeks there. Great stress was laid upon the importance of the campaign work in South Dakota and West Virginia and the necessity of helping the National financially to defeat suffrage in these States.

The regular monthly meeting was held at the home of Mrs. C. Edward Muller, a member of the Executive Board. Mrs. Muller's home being in the suburbs, the meeting was held on the spacious porches and a number of neighbors and friends had been asked to attend, some of whom had not heard the anti-suffrage side of the question and many neither side. Mrs. Robert Garret, President, made a most earnest appeal to her audience to realize the menace of the suffrage movement, bringing out

many convincing facts and won all present with her logic and reason. Mrs. M. C. Talbot spoke of the Iowa campaign and what it means for women to enter a political field. A number signed the membership cards and took home literature to study.

The members of the Maryland Association felt deeply gratified over the action of the Maryland delegation of 36 members voting solidly against the suffrage plank in the Democratic platform at the convention at St. Louis.

### MASSACHUSETTS

**M**ASSACHUSETTS' hot-weather slogan is "Let us Double our Membership." Miss J. C. Prendergast of the Executive has accepted the chairmanship of the State Membership Committee, and under her direction each branch will soon have a local membership committee, whose sole work will be the securing of new members; already several branches have their committees at work. Our present net membership is 37,463 in 443 cities, towns and villages. Present number of branches, 140.

Worcester reports that they have given thirty-four teas at the Tea House since it was opened in the spring. These teas have been attended by the county chairmen and members from the State Executive Board, Mrs. Balch, Mrs. Ford and Miss Simmons being among those who have spoken there, also Mrs. Thomas Allen, who addressed an audience of college women at a meeting given there last month. At the present time the Tea House is open every Wednesday for the use of the clerks in stores who wish to spend their Wednesday half-holiday there.

Needham Branch reports a whist party, at which some money was raised. They plan to hold social meetings in the fall to arouse and increase interest in the branch work.

Jamaica Plain is preparing a program for next winter's work to be presented to its executive board at the first meeting in September.

The College Anti-Suffrage League shows a rapidly increasing membership and Mrs. Thomas Allen, the organizing chairman, reports several meetings arranged for the early autumn. Miss Gertrude J. Knott, a member of the Advisory Board and president of the Alumna Association of the University of Michigan, is devoting her summer to teaching primary and academic subjects and is donating the proceeds to the War Relief Fund and other public works.

Two of our Brookline Committee are establishing surgical dressing classes in Maine and in Jamestown, R. I., where they have gone for their vacations.

Our Medford chairman, Mrs. Charles Holyoke, has recently been elected president of the Medford Branch of the Volunteer Aid Association. The Reading Branch has just completed three equipments for

the Red Cross, while Milton anti-suffragists are devoting two days each week to relief work and already one of the members has sent two field kitchens to the front.

The Emergency Committee, which inaugurated the relief work for dependent families of soldiers, under the leadership of our president, Mr. John Balch, worked at the Commonwealth Armory and at Room 249 in the State House until eighty-four cases had been received, investigated and turned over to the Volunteer Aid Association, which now has the entire charge of this branch of work. The work of our association was commended by Adjutant-General Cole and the State authorities. Mrs. Balch has been invited to serve on the Executive Committee of the Volunteer Aid Association.

Mrs. James M. Codman, our treasurer, who is the president of the Brookline Friendly Society, has just accepted an invitation to serve on the Brookline War Relief Committee.

Mrs. Edwin Ford, assisted by Miss Annie Simmons, has been actively at work through July visiting new locations and laying plans for new branches that are in process of formation. Already many meetings have been arranged for the early autumn, and busy days are in store for our organizers and speakers.

### MINNESOTA

**I**NFORMATION on the question of woman's suffrage was the fundamental reason for organization in Minnesota. The work of the opposition has been largely devoted to an educational campaign.

In the past months the State Association has published fourteen pamphlets, compiled from literature used in campaign States and adapted to work in Minnesota. It has circulated five hundred thousand pieces of literature and raised the money for all this work. It has secured lists of residents in rural and urban districts which are valuable for accuracy and information. The work has been done by Congressional districts under definite committees.

The Minneapolis Association has printed three addresses given by members of their Association, and circulated 24,000 pieces of literature.

In St. Paul, they have printed the "Case for the Opposition", by Frances Corning Boardman, and continued the circulation of literature which has been the chosen work of that Association. They finance their work in part by entertainments. A musical at the home of Mrs. A. H. Lindeke was very successful. Mrs. D. F. DeWolf, one of the State Directors had charge of the program, and sang most acceptably. St. Paul is especially interested in the number of wage earning women in her membership.

Mrs. Edmund Pennington, President of the Minneapolis Association is doing most effective work for Preparedness as Chair-

man of the Minneapolis Branch of the National Security League. She is also Chairman here of the American Committee for Training in Suitable Trades the Maimed Soldiers of France.

The local work for the Red Cross has become very active since the Minnesota National Guards have gone to the Mexican border. Mrs. E. L. Carpenter is Chairman of the Executive Committee; Mrs. George H. Christian and Miss Chute are also on that committee.

Mrs. Clarence P. Stembel was asked to speak before the Community League at Deephaven giving the "reason why for anti-suffrage."

The Minneapolis Association entertained Mrs. Benjamin Robinson of Boston at a large luncheon. Her strong personality as well as her information and advice were a real inspiration. Dr. William Stearns Davis of the University of Minnesota gave a characteristic and delightful talk on Preparedness at the same luncheon.

Mrs. M. C. Talbot was the guest of Mrs. Arthur D. Hirschfelder when she visited Minneapolis, on returning from Iowa to Baltimore. The State Association gave a luncheon in her honor. It was two days after the Iowa election and became a celebration of the anti-suffrage victory in that State. The occasion was as happy with an assured majority of 4,655 as it could be now with 10,341 to double our enthusiasm. Mrs. Talbot gave her experience in a campaign State and Mrs. E. L. Carpenter, who did so much for the work in Iowa, her native State, read telegrams she had received. A telegram was read from Mrs. Pennington, who was in Chicago attending the National Republican Convention. Unfortunately, while there, her anti-suffrage rose caused her to be hissed for half an hour by "our friend the enemy."

Mrs. L. K. Hull had charge of the luncheon.

A series of bridge teas are being given to raise a specific sum of money. Mrs. Alfred Pillsbury gave the initial one this week.

Mrs. George C. Bagley, who has had charge of the anti-suffrage booth at the State Fair for two years, is already making plans for that work this autumn.

The definite character of anti-suffrage work in this State from now until election is under consideration. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, at the Trans Mississippi Suffrage Convention held in Minneapolis, gave Minnesota as one of the States whose Constitution was so "bound" a suffrage amendment would be impossible.

After the decision of the called convention of the National Suffrage Association, we shall know whether our work is to be upon Federal or State lines. Until then we are on "observation bent" to learn what politics can do for women, and what women will do in politics.

## THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

### NEW JERSEY

**T**HE regular monthly meeting of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, followed by a luncheon, was held July 10th at the home of the President, Mrs. E. Yarde Breese, in Spring Lake. The meeting was largely attended and plans were discussed for raising funds for the National and State Associations.

It was decided to give a supper dance in the ball room of the New Monmouth Hotel on Saturday evening, July 29th.

The women present entered into the project with enthusiasm, the result being that the ball was carried out with brilliant success.

Mrs. Edward H. Gross, chairman of the entertainment committee, was in charge of all arrangements and the success of the affair was due to her able management and executive ability.

A committee of twenty-one women was formed with the following patronesses: Mrs. E. Yarde Breese, Mrs. Echo H. Gross, Miss Dayton, Mrs. Garrett A. Hobart, Mrs. William Libbey, Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, Jr., Miss Anne McIlvaine, Mrs. Thomas C. Woodbury, Miss Magie, Miss Clara Vezin, Mrs. Henry M. Darcy, Mrs. Thomas Adams, Mrs. R. C. Maxwell, Mrs. Sherman B. Joost, Mrs. Horace F. Tuxon, Mrs. Henry Seligman, Mrs. Hamilton Fisk Kean, Miss Elizabeth A. H. Kean, Mrs. G. Herbert Smith, Mrs. Robert W. Smith, Mrs. Ellsworth A. Corbett, Mrs. Charles R. Smith.

Rose-colored lights with pendant streamers of black and white lighted the ball-room.

The small daughter and son of Mrs. Robert P. Maxwell and little Miss Stirrs, daughter of Mrs. George S. Stirrs, in the costumes of the anti-suffrage dolls originated in New Jersey, sold numbers of dolls during the evening. The orchestra of the New Monmouth Hotel largely augmented through the courtesy of Mr. Shute, was led by Mr. Shute himself. A delicious supper was served at small tables. A large attendance and great enthusiasm marked the success of the affair. The proceeds of the ball will be divided between the National Association and the State Association.

### NEW YORK

**U**NCLE SAM'S post office department has been the chief medium through which the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has carried on anti-suffrage propaganda during the past two months.

A copy of the July PROTEST, carefully blue pencilled, was sent to every member of the Republican and Democratic State Committees and County Chairmen of both parties, as well as to many other prominent

men in different sections of the State. A personal letter accompanied each copy, in which special attention was called to the articles relating to the suffrage planks in the National platforms and the suffrage attitude toward these planks. Business men pay little attention to suffrage and anti-suffrage news in the daily papers, and the conciseness of the PROTEST article will give them a clear idea of the present situation.

An organizer has been at work in one of the large counties where we have had but two local committees up to the present time. Several new committees are being formed. The truth of our slogan, "Where we work, WE WIN" is emphasized by the fact that in one of the towns in that county where we had a local committee, the majority against suffrage last autumn was 400; whereas in another town in the same county where we had no committee, the majority against it was only forty.

No attempt will be made to cover as many Fairs this year as last. We will have a booth at the State fair at Syracuse, under the active co-operation of anti-suffragists of Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Cazenovia and other anti-suffrage centers. Requests for booths at other Fairs are being considered, and where it is deemed necessary or desirable this work will be arranged for.

The Anti-Suffrage Military Relief Committee, under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Nelson Henry has used its fund to double purpose by giving the making of certain articles to wives of men now at the front, affording them an opportunity to earn two dollars and more a day at home, as long as the work and the fund lasts. "Pocket Packs" containing small necessities such as postals, pencil, stamps, court plaster, needles, thread, buttons, blunt scissors, comb, etc., are made of khaki and bound with tape for service. Woolen abdominal bands and hat nets are sent with each pack. Samples of these will be sent on request to anti-suffragists whose summering on mountain or shore makes them the more keenly alive to conditions in the alkali deserts and sage brush.

Mamaroneck anti-suffragists at a recent "Red Cross" evening in the village auditorium raised over \$400 for Red Cross work. The very attractive program opened with the bugler's calls by Bugler Joseph Shillingforth of Fort Slocum, and a brief but instructive address on Red Cross aims and accomplishments by Director John Van Schaick of the American Red Cross Society. Mamaroneck is organizing a permanent Anti-Suffrage Military Relief Committee.

### OHIO

**T**HE anti-suffragists in the State of Ohio are not resting on their laurels, content with past victories, but are making plans to reach the entire State with educa-

tional work and with a referendum vote of the women as to their stand on the suffrage question. This was accomplished in Cincinnati by way of a poll of the city with the result that the Cincinnati organization now has 40,000 bona fide names enrolled on the anti side as against the 800 registered suffragists of that city.

Mrs. H. E. Talbott, the State president, and Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz, State secretary and business secretary of the Cincinnati branch, are making automobile trips to the principal cities for the purpose of strengthening and enlarging the various organizations and forming others wherever possible.

The Cincinnati Baseball Club gave the anti a baseball day, which was largely attended and generously donated to by many who were unable to be present.

Mrs. H. E. Talbott later entertained a large number of anti-suffragists of Cincinnati and Dayton with a card benefit in behalf of the cause.

Mrs. Nicholas Walsh of Cincinnati brought the local executive board and the Dayton committee together for consultation at her home, where plans were outlined for summer activities.

"Woman suffrage shall never win Ohio" is the slogan of the anti-suffragists and they are backing it up with constant surveillance and unrelenting work.

The suffragists are taking advantage of the "olive branch" which has been extended by the two political parties by distributing dodgers throughout Ohio announcing in heaviest black type that the Republican and Democratic parties have endorsed suffrage and urging all voters, if they would be true to the tenets of their respective party platforms, that they can no longer evade suffrage, but are pledged to support it. No allusion is made to the two twigs of this olive branch, one of which approves woman suffrage but the other, and much the more important of the two, decrees that the Constitution of the United States shall be upheld and that each State must decide the question for itself.

The suffrage method of telling only what they wish and withholding the most illuminating part of the subject matter reminds one of the Dutchman who made oath as follows: "I do most solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing of the truth."

The public must constantly be enlightened lest it be misled, therefore the anti-suffragists of this State shall furnish such enlightenment until woman suffrage is a thing of the past—a dream from which women shall again awaken to living realities, to the realization that "above the immemorial creed of their rights stands the divine creed of their duties and that highest privilege consists not in individual freedom, but in helpful and womanly service. This is what the anti-suffragists of Ohio are trying to achieve.

## PENNSYLVANIA

THE Pittsburgh Association closed its relief work of the year this month with a tea cup sale. One of our members offered us the use of her house and furnished the music. Cups, cakes and sandwiches were donated by members. The affair was like an ordinary tea, only you had to purchase your cup—to obtain your tea or coffee. We had a large attendance and much newspaper publicity. Seventy-five hundred buttons were sent to Monongahela County, West Virginia—this included Morgantown. These went to every voter, Democratic and Republican.

## VIRGINIA

DURING the month we have had a very successful talk in Clarksville, by Miss Caroline Preston Davis of the University of Virginia. The reports of her speech were most complimentary, and what is more important, it seems to have achieved its purpose as many people were interested in the anti-suffrage side after hearing her, and she made many converts. Miss Davis also has charge of the interests of the antis at the summer school at the university, where she has literature, etc., to give out and where the booth which the antis have is always open with Miss Davis or some other person who represents us, to answer any questions or give any information relative to the interests of those opposed to woman suffrage.

We are distributing literature in other ways.—ELLA M. COCKE

## WEST VIRGINIA

ONE of the most successful anti-suffrage clashes ever obtained with the foremost representative of woman suffrage occurred at Parkersburg, W. Va., on August 2d, the day after Mr. Hughes came out for the Federal suffrage amendment, when Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, of Trenton, N. J., and previously unknown in Parkersburg, overwhelmingly overcame the suffrage arguments presented by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Suffrage Association.

Although Mrs. Catt stated her case with all the eloquence and skill for which the suffrage leader is famous, it was acknowledged that very few men left the hall at the end of the meeting who had not been won over to the anti-suffrage side by Mrs. Oliphant's address.

This meeting, coming just after the publication of a declaration that woman suffrage is "inevitable," etc., and when the anti-suffrage arguments might be assumed to be a disadvantage in every way, has proved that the voters of West Virginia cannot be stampeded on this subject, even by the most distinguished suffrage speakers.

West Virginia men are inclined to study the question for themselves, and to decide it in accordance with their ideas of what is best for West Virginia and West Virginia women. A hundred similar meetings throughout the State would increase the anti-suffrage majority in November to overwhelming figures.

Since this meeting local anti-suffragists have ceased to wonder why it is always so difficult to get suffrage speakers to appear at debates and joint discussions where both sides are given a hearing.

## The Liquor Lie Once More

THE West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association recently published a statement purporting to show a connection between the anti-suffragists and the liquor interests in Michigan in 1913, quoting an anti-suffrage appeal published as an advertisement in Michigan papers, and alleged to have been paid for by the Macomb County Liquor Dealers Association of that State.

When this suffrage statement appeared, the West Virginia anti-suffragists promptly forwarded it to the President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, who was in Michigan at the time of this incident. The reply to the suffrage statement follows:

There have been sixteen campaigns on suffrage in the last three years. In fourteen of these campaigns the anti-suffragists won by large majorities. In two of them the suffragists won the "two wettest States in the Union," according to their own historian, Montana and Nevada, in 1914.

The two dry States that have recently voted on this question, Iowa and North Dakota, have defeated woman suffrage.

In not one of these sixteen elections have the suffragists been able to indicate by actual figures that they lost because of the "wet" vote. They have often blamed it upon the lack of "dry" support, as in the case of Iowa, North Dakota and Ohio.

It is hardly necessary to reiterate that no anti-suffrage organization has ever asked for or accepted liquor support. The Michigan incident of 1913 was as follows:

The editor of a paper unnamed by suffragists sent a letter to the *Detroit Journal* in 1913 in which the Macomb County Liquor Dealers Association offers to pay for an advertisement.

The letter, which is on file at Michigan suffrage headquarters, and which they have just republished in West Virginia, does not refer in its wording to an anti-suffrage advertisement. It might have been attached to any sort of an advertisement. Nevertheless, it is a fact that one of the Michigan anti-suffrage circulars, which had been issued widely throughout the State, appeared as an advertisement in two Macomb County *pro-suffrage* papers. It was not paid for by the anti-suffragists.

The day it appeared, the Michigan anti-

suffragists issued a formal and public repudiation of its placement in these papers as an anti-suffrage advertisement. This public repudiation was published at the time—but the suffragists who repeat this incident always prefer to ignore this point.

The anti-suffragists have never been able to find but two papers—both *pro-suffrage*—which published the advertisement, and have not discovered who paid for it.

They could not find one *anti-suffrage* editor who received it.

The utter folly and futility of this action, from an anti-suffrage viewpoint, and the promptness with which the liquor letter was forwarded to the President of the Michigan Suffrage Association, and exploited just before the election, suggests that the incident was made to order for campaign purposes by the suffragists. This is further indicated by their neglecting to give all the facts wherever they repeat this story.

If this liquor association really did pay for printing an anti-suffrage circular as an advertisement in two *pro-suffrage* papers, as claimed by the suffragists, it would leave two motives as an explanation—either to oppose woman suffrage, or to help the cause of woman suffrage by an action designed to discredit the woman's opposition. Can any fair-minded person, under the circumstances, wonder why the anti-suffragists have always suspected it as a campaign trick?

Whatever the motive of this advertisement, it had no effect upon the Michigan election. The official Michigan Manual for 1913, giving the vote in wet and dry districts, shows that every county voting on prohibition in that year gave a majority against woman suffrage. Moreover, of the thirty-three dry counties, twenty-eight voted against woman suffrage. Seventeen counties voted in favor of woman suffrage. Twelve of these counties were "wet" counties.

Some of the liquor interests probably oppose woman suffrage—but there is no election on record where they have defeated it.

It is almost comical for suffragists to claim that the liquor interests are their opponents in prohibition States. It would seem that if the liquor interests cannot save themselves from being put out of business, they surely cannot prevent woman suffrage.

The liquor cry so often raised by suffragists is really a plea for sympathy which their cause cannot win on its merits nor by honest methods. That they stoop to innuendo and misrepresentation about their sister women who oppose them, and try to link the names of some of the best women in every State with the liquor interests, without any justification whatever, should be a reflection on them, not us.

(Signed) Mrs. ARTHUR M. DODGE,  
President, National Association Opposed  
to Woman Suffrage.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

A VERY comprehensive leaflet on "Methods for Solving Some of the Problems of the Home Maker," has been issued by the Committee on Home Economics of the National Special Aid Society. The Chairman of this important Committee is Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer. The aims of the Committee are set forth in the following introduction to the leaflet:

"The National Special Aid Society is a preparedness organization but we believe that the home is the first line of defense and we believe that preparedness in peace is as important as preparedness in war. The Committee on Home Economics wishes to be of definite service and therefore offers this leaflet as a contribution toward solving some of the problems of the home maker."

The leaflet gives a list of free U. S. publications on foods, their value and preparation. It tells where to report on tainted foods, on obstructed sewers, neglected garbage, defective pavements, etc. Also a list of the free lectures given under the direction of the Home Economic Committee. The leaflet is full of valuable suggestions. The headquarters of the Committee are 259 Fifth Avenue, where further information can be obtained.

## LEST WE REGRET

THE suffragists have recently shown the extreme danger of ever being a suffragist. One outgrows it in time and gets on the sensible side of this subject—and then the suffragists prod him with the follies of his youth.

Col. John P. Irish, now an opponent of woman suffrage, is bitterly attacked because he criticized Lincoln in 1864. In 1870, Colonel Irish was one of the shining lights in the Iowa suffrage campaign—and on the suffrage side. There are lots of things a young man does that he afterwards regrets.

Now that the Colonel has learned more about both suffrage and Lincoln, the suffragists have no use for him, and desire to expose his early mistakes on political questions.

Think what is going to happen to some suffragists after they become antis! All the foolish things they have said on all the subjects under the sun will be quoted against them by the suffragists on that day.

MORAL: Get on the right side of this question and become an anti while you are young. Then the suffragists will have nothing foolish to reproach you with in your old age—and you will have nothing to regret!

While the suffragists are conducting a contest for a slogan of five words, for which they offer \$25, it will be worth more than that for everybody to remember:

"Suffrage First" means Feminism Next.

"Go to church early and put suffrage leaflets in every hymn book," advises the suffrage journal. "Enclose a suffrage leaflet in every letter that you write. Leave suffrage books, tracts and papers about in the parlor of the hotel or boarding-house. Do something, and do it all the time."

In other words, litter the church, the hotel and the home with votes for women. Annoy the administration, the public and your friends about it all the time. It is a brilliant suggestion.

"Familiarity breeds contempt" and the quicker suffrage becomes the world's worst nuisance the quicker will it become the most unpopular agitation on earth.

Some suffragists do not believe in votes. They are putting a "mock" in "democracy." Their sort of democracy would disfranchise the voters and abolish State rights on this question to let lobbies representing less than ten per cent. of one sex wheedle woman suffrage out of legislatures.

THOMAS A. EDISON, in a letter to the Data Department of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, denies the statement attributed to him by the so-called "Woman's Journal," a suffrage organ of Boston, and afterwards circulated throughout the country.

This is the statement attributed to Mr. Edison:

"It is no longer denied that woman suffrage will shortly be established throughout the country. The evidence from the States in which women have voted goes to prove that with the ballot women are more fairly treated under the law, the working woman is better protected and social and moral improvement is accelerated."

When clippings were sent to Mr. Edison containing this statement, he wrote the following denial:

FROM THE LABORATORY OF  
THOMAS A. EDISON

Orange, N. J., July 8th.

Data Department, National Association  
Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

"Replying to your favor of the 28th ultimo let me say I never made the statement that in woman's suffrage States social and moral improvement were accelerated."

"While I am in favor of woman suffrage I have noticed that in States where they have suffrage they have failed to use their votes to diminish saloons and to correct other abuses. Still, I believe that they should have the power to do so, because some day they will be sure to use it.

(Signed) THOS. A. EDISON."

A CHICAGO candidate who is running for the State Legislature on a platform of better representation for his city in the government of the State, and a decrease in those governmental expenditures which are of no benefit to the community, holds woman suffrage responsible for the great increase in election expenses in Chicago.

He was asked by the suffragists how he would vote if elected to the Legislature, and replied that he would indorse a submission of the question of full woman suffrage to the electorate, and also the submission of a referendum for the repeal of the present partial suffrage which women possess in that State, in defiance of the expressed will of the voters of Chicago in 1912, when the proposal to enfranchise women was defeated in every ward, and by a three to one majority throughout the city. A secret lobby of women afterwards obtained partial suffrage from the State Legislature.

Moreover, this candidate has challenged any suffragist to engage in a debate on the question of whether woman suffrage has been an injury, he taking the affirmative side. At the time of going to press, the challenge had not been accepted by the suffragists, although the candidate has offered to debate with them singly or in groups.

Women have municipal and school suffrage in Illinois, and may vote for Presidential electors, but not for offices established by the State Constitution.

## GEORGIA

By a vote of ninety-one to twenty-one the House of Representatives of the Georgia Assembly declined to adopt a recommendation of the Rules Committee that the suffrage bill be made a special order for the purpose of disagreeing with the Committee on Constitutional Amendments. This defeat of woman suffrage virtually ended the fight at this session.

It is not necessary that women should vote in order to have the laws more favorable to them. The changes that have already taken place in them are due to the great progress of modern civilization within the last fifty years, and have had nothing to do with suffrage.

MRS. KATE GANNETT WELLS.

It is asserted that the possession of votes will increase the earnings of women. If this prediction means that a vote will raise the market value of a woman's work, it is false. Why in the name of common-sense should a vote confer upon a woman a benefit which it has never conferred upon a man?

PROF. A. V. DICKEY.

# THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

Complete set, 50 cts.

Selected packages, 25 cts.

Single copies, 5 cts.

## PAMPHLETS

### NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman's Relation to Government *Mrs. Wm. F. Scott*  
 Taxation and Suffrage *Frederick Dwight*  
 First Legislative Address *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*  
 The Woman Suffrage Crisis  
 (Editorial, *New York Times*, February 8, 1915)  
 Suffragists Desert Philanthropy  
 Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law  
 Dodgers  
 Suffrage a Cult of Self and Sex *Dr. Charles L. Dana*  
 Some Catholic Views  
 Red Behind the Yellow  
 Suffrage Not a Right *Hon. Henry L. Stimson*  
 Woman Will Not Gain by Suffrage *Judge Edgar M. Cullen*  
 An Argument Against the Woman Suffrage Amendment *Stephen H. Olin*

### NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*  
 The Case Against Votes for Women *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*  
 The Militant and the Child *Mrs. F. M. Scott*  
 Woman's Rights vs. Woman's Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*  
 Equality of Suffrage Means the Debasement, etc. *John R. Dos Passos*  
 Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation *Minnie Bronson*  
 Wage-Earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*  
 The Relation of the Sexes to Government *Prof. Edward Cope*  
 A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question *Miss Emily P. Bissell*  
 Should Women Vote? *Joseph Gilpin Pyle*  
 Xantippe on Woman Suffrage *Reprint from Yale Review*  
 Feminism and Socialism *Reprint from Unpopular Review*  
 Dodgers—Statistics  
 Silk Pins.....10c. each Ribbon.....10c. and 15c. a yard  
 Celluloid Buttons.....5c. Pennants.....15c. and 25c.  
 New Poster Stamps.....35c. a hundred  
 Cartoon—Population Votes.....50c.  
 New Song—The Anti-Suffrage Rose.....10c.

### MAN-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

52 Broadway Room 926 New York City

### PUBLICATIONS

The Woman and the Vote. Address Carnegie Hall, January 26, 1914 *Everett P. Wheeler*  
 Feminist Revolutionary Principle Biologically Unsound *Prof. William T. Sedgwick*  
 Brief Submitted to House of Representatives, July, 1914 *Everett P. Wheeler*  
 Colorado and Suffrage *John C. Ten Eyck*

Consent of the Governed *Prof. Munroe Smith*  
 The Woman Suffrage Crisis

(Editorial, *New York Times*, February 8, 1915)  
 Brief on Woman Suffrage: Political Suffrage for Women Subversive of American Ideals

The Laws of New York Favor and Protect Woman

*Raymond B. Seymour, of the New York Bar*  
 What Women Have Done Without the Ballot

*Everett P. Wheeler*  
 (Republished by Permission from *The Reply*)  
 Price 5 cents each—25 for \$1.00

### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

Feminism (\$1.50) *Mr. and Mrs. John Martin*  
 The Eden Sphinx (\$1.25) *Mrs. Annie Riley Hale*  
 Anti-Suffrage Essays—by Massachusetts Women *Harold Owen*  
 Woman Adrift (\$1.50) *J. Lionel Tayler*  
 The Nature of Woman (\$1.25) *Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun*  
 Vocation of Woman (\$1.50) *Ida Tarbell*  
 The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) *Ida Tarbell*  
 The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage (\$1.00) *Sir Almeroth Wright*  
 The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) *Molly Elliott Seawell*  
 Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25) *E. S. Martin*  
 The Unrest of Women (\$1.00)  
 Votes for Men (50c.)  
 Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*  
 Woman and the Republic (25c.) *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

These can be obtained by applying to  
 THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

*The Remonstrance*.....Subscription, 25c.  
 687 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

Some pamphlets issued by the Women's Anti-Suffrage Association of Massachusetts.

The Case Against Woman Suffrage. A Manual.  
 Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage *Francis Parkman*  
 Argument before U. S. Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*

Of What Benefit to Woman?  
 Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*  
 Letter to Legislative Committee *Mrs. Clara T. Leonard*  
 Municipal Suffrage for Women—Why? *Frank Foxcroft*  
 Taxpaying Suffrage *Charles R. Saunders*  
 Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women and not to Men

Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage *Ida M. Tarbell*  
 Woman Suffrage in Practice—An Answer to George Creel.  
 Address in Opposition to Woman Suffrage

*Mrs. George A. Caswell*  
 Anti-Suffrage Manual (15c. a copy) *Mrs. Albert T. Leatherbee*  
 An Anti-Suffrage Creed *Adapted from Octavia Hill*  
 A Social Worker's View of Suffrage *Mrs. Wm. Lowell Putnam*  
 Suffrage Statements Answered  
 Twelve Anti-Suffrage Reasons *Caroline M. Parker*  
 Why a Man Should Oppose Woman Suffrage *Frank Foxcroft*  
 Woman Suffrage Must Fail *Mrs. A. J. George (Independent)*  
 Woman Suffrage a Menace to Social Reform *Margaret C. Robinson*

Woman Suffrage a Failure in California

Pamphlets and Leaflets may be obtained  
 from the Secretary of the Association,  
 KENSINGTON BUILDING, Room 615

687 Boylston Street

BOSTON, MASS.

Selected Packages, 25c.

## THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

37 West 39th Street, New York City

Enclosed find \$.....for.....year's subscription

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State .....

Subscription Rate, \$1.00 a year. Make checks payable to THE WOMAN'S PROTEST.

If you wish to subscribe for a friend, write  
 the name below and include the amount in  
 your remittance.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State .....